

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 043638

E.O. 11652: GDS

AGS: PFOR, WA, SF

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICAN MEMORANDUM ON NAMIBIA

1. THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR GAVE THE FOLLOWING
MEMORANDUM TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE ON FEBRUARY 26:

2. "MEMORANDUM: SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

3. "IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT THE LAST OCCASION ON WHICH
SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS ON THE SEVEN POINTS TOOK PLACE
WAS VERY SHORTLY BEFORE DR. KISSINGER'S DEPARTURE, IN HIS
OFFICE IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT ON SATURDAY, JANUARY 15,
1977. ON THAT OCCASION DR. KISSINGER INDICATED THAT HE HAD
RECEIVED FROM DR. KAUNDA ONLY SWAPO'S REACTION CONSISTING
OF 8 POINTS. THIS REACTION, SEEN FROM OUR VIEWPOINT, WAS
SO UNACCEPTABLE THAT AMBASSADOR BOTHA INTIMATED TO THE
STATE DEPARTMENT THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRIME MINISTER
WAS ACTUALLY SURPRISED THAT THIS REACTION WAS BEING
TRANSMITTED TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES.

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4. "WHEN SECRETARY VANCE AND AMBASSADOR BOTHA MET ON
25 JANUARY 1977, THE SECRETARY'S REACTION IN REGARD TO
SOUTH WEST AFRICA WAS:

5. "WITH RESPECT TO NAMIBIA, WE HAVE TOLD THE FRONT-LINE
PRESIDENTS, NIGERIA AND OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS THAT WE
REMAIN COMMITTED TO NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE AND A NEGO-

TIATED SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE. OUR GOOD OFFICES REMAIN OPEN. WE ARE CURRENTLY REVIEWING WHAT STEPS WILL MOVE A SETTLEMENT ALONG. WE TRUST YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL REFRAIN FROM TAKING ANY DECISIONS WHICH WILL FORECLOSE THE POSSIBILITY OF AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT.'

6. "ON 3 FEBRUARY 1977. ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELLE, ON BEHALF OF SECRETARY VANCE, REQUESTED AMBASSADOR BOTHA TO CONVEY THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT:

7. 'WE WISH TO URGE YOU TO MAINTAIN THE PRESENT STATUS QUO ON NAMIBIA. WE ARE WORKING TO SEE WHETHER SOMETHING CAN BE ACHIEVED WHICH WILL BE ACCEPTED INTERNATIONALLY. WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL AVOID ANY MOVES WHICH MIGHT JEOPARDISE THAT PROSPECT.'

8. "ASKED BY AMBASSADOR BOTHA WHETHER THIS MESSAGE WAS INTEND:D TO RELATE TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE IN WINDHOEK, AND WHETHER IT SHOULD BE CONSTRUED AS A REQUEST TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO ATTEMPT TO SUSPEND OR TERMINATE THE CONFERENCE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELLE REPLIED:

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9. 'WE HAVEN'T ASKED YOU TO STOP THAT PROCESS. WE ARE ASKING YOU TO ENSURE THAT WINDHOEK DOES NOT GO TOO FAR TOO FAST, PRESENTING US WITH A FAIT ACCOMPLI.'

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10. "TO THIS AMBASSADOR BOTHA REPLIED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WAS NOT IN A POSITION TO TERMINATE THE CONFERENCE AND THAT IT WAS, IN FACT, THE BLACK REPRESENTATIVES WHO WERE EXERTING PRESSURE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FOR THE EARLY ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

11. "IN THIS REGARD IT SHOULD ALSO BE BORNE IN MIND THAT IT WAS REPEATEDLY STRESSED TO DR. KISSINGER, INTER ALIA, DURING THE BREAKFAST DISCUSSIONS ON 15 DECEMBER 1976, BETWEEN HIM, UNDER SECRETARY ROGERS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFELLE, AMBASSADOR BOTHA AND MR. B. G. FOURIE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN AUTHORITIES COULD NO LONGER PLACE LIMITATIONS ON THE TURNHALLE CONFERENCE.

12. "IT WILL FURTHER BE RECALLED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WAS THROUGHOUT REQUESTED BY DR. KISSINGER NOT TO MAKE THE SEVEN POINTS KNOWN TO THE TURNHALLE AND NOT TO URGE THE CONFERENCE TO ACCEPT THEM BEFORE THEY HAD BEEN ACCEPTED

BY THE SO-CALLED FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS. AS FAR AS THE TIME-TABLE WAS CONCERNED WE INDICATED THEN THAT WE DID NOT EXPECT THE WORK OF THE TURNHALLE TO TAKE ON IRREVOCABLE FORM BEFORE THE END OF JANUARY 1977.

13. "WE ARE ALREADY AT THE END OF FEBRUARY 1977 AND AS COULD BE INFERRED FROM NEWS REPORTS MATTERS HAVE PROCEEDED SO FAR THAT SOME OF THE SEVEN POINTS HAVE FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES BEEN OVERTAKEN.

14. "IF, AFTER TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE STAGE WHICH THE CONFERENCE HAS ALREADY REACHED AND THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HAVE THE POWER TO IMPOSE THEM ON THE CONFERENCE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT STILL FEELS THAT SOME OF THE BASIC POINTS CAN STILL BE NEGOTIATED WE ARE WILLING TO DISCUSS THEM. WASHINGTON D.C., 26 FEBRUARY 1977."

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VANCE

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